

The Constant Man's Character:

Intended to be sent first as a

LETTER

From a Gentleman in the Country,

TO

A Gentleman his esteemed Friend and
Countryman,

A Member of the House of Commons.



Since enlarged into a

DISCOURSE

By way of

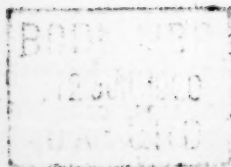
ADVICE to keep him from Revol-
ting either Directly or Collaterally by the side-
wind of being Presbyterially affected, through the mista-
ken and unhappy conceit, *That those who have taken the Covenant,*
cannot without breach of the same, assent and submit unto the late
Proceedings of the Parliament, when as the Parts thereof
seem to be inconsistent within themselves, as the Authors
Observations here discoursed do manifest.

Together

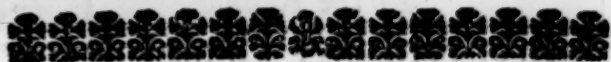
With some Animadversions incident hereunto
on the Book given out to be the late Kings, called *ΕΙΚΩΝ*
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, and the two Declarations, Intituled, *The Declara-*
tions of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Par-
liament : Printed at Oxford, 1643.

The { *One touching a Treaty for Peace.*
Other concerning their Endeavors for Peace.

London, Printed in the year 1649.



BOOKS
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JAN 1910



Reader,

THis Letter, rather this Narration, is founded on a Discourse had betwixt two Gentlemen, the one unto whom it was written, having the abler parts of Wit and Speech; the other the writer, having the juster Cause, or at least, he judged it so; the weakness of whose judgement may indeed be an objection against the credit of the work; there being three means onely whereby to discern and report a Truth, Judgement, Knowledge, Conscience: The two first the Author may be defective in, Judgement, Knowledge in State affairs; the Conscience and upright Truth, by which he hath measured what he hath written, is free from Fa-

To the Reader.

ction or partiality, Himself no way interested, nor deeming his strength or skill enough to help either side to victory, but according to his weak and spent abilities, to endeavor the restoring the three Nations to their former Peace, their mutual Interests and Rights, unto which the only and next way is, to deliver, and uprightly to set down the Truth: A more able Penman may shew it more excellently, *None can shew a more excellent way.*

The



The constant Mans Character.



SIR,



Know not how this Discourse may relish, assure your self sent from the hand and heart of him who loves and honors you; howbeit wise men leaning on their own wisdoms, and sacrificing too much peradventure to their own Net, commonly neither need nor care for the affections of their weaker Friends. What I am in relation unto you, or in the rank of them, is known to those who know us both: What in my self, I am conscious of wanting experience and learning to derive any knowledge from antiquated Times or Histories, for the fashioning this into an elegant and polite work, but in a downright way to fall on, and plainly to set down the beginnings and first entrance into this present War; which when it first broke out, that the Gentlemen of this County did declare themselves, unto what Party they would adhere, Two eminent Leaders on the Parliaments side, Sir R. C. and your self, outweighing as we judged, so many more of the opposite Party, did seem to joyn and go one way, for the Priviledges of that Court, and the Subjects Liberties: The infringing which, added to some late Jealousies, was the first Ascent to these Divisions; how and by what degrees it went higher, follows in this Discourse. In your resenting

which, he as a Member of the House, you as a Patriot of the Country, we could not think ye did it in a light, Factionous or Seditious way; but as having seriously weighed, and by your Readings even before and since the beginning of this War known, That the Institution of Parliaments was had and made by an Ancient, Necessary and Wholsom Law, That the Power, Priviledges and Authority thereof, were to be kept inviolable and entire, That as to this present Parliament, the King Himself in His Answer to a Declaration sent Him from both Houses of Lords and Commons, (a) doth confess and allow *Them a full and juridical Power to judge and determine the most doubtful, high, and weightiest Crimes and Causes, although He seems to limit it by particular Cases, and regularly brought before them*; acknowledging withal (together with the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford) (b) *The Priviledge of Parliament to be so substantial and entire a right, That the Invasion of the Liberties of either House is an injury to the other, and to the whole Kingdom*: In several His Messages returned unto their Propositions, He repeats and confirms the same judgement of their full and ample Power, being legally summoned, and *By a Law consented unto by Him in full Parliament, not to be Dissolved unless by their own consent*. Notwithstanding which, several attempts of force and violence were offered, as far as His Parties Power could extend it self to the Dissolving it, by contending to divide and scatter Them; accusing the re-

(a) See His Answer to a Declaration from both Houses, in May, 1642.

(b) See the Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, 1643. Pag. 12.

maining part of the Members sitting in the House, of being Rebels, So being divided, to account no other of the Parliament at *Westminster*, (a) then He doth of the Parliament in *Scotland*, *The divided Members of that distracted Parliamentary Body remaining at Edinburgh*. So that as to the Parliament of *England*, it must be confessed, that he meant not what he expressed, in allowing that Latitude of power, or that his party hath since prevailed with him, to renounce that judgement which he declared to have had of them: That the contentions at the first sitting of the House were, upon the point, about matters of Fact, what things were done, what attempted to be done; how the King and his Ministers of Justice had demeaned themselves since the beginning of his Raign, how many oppressions of several kindes had been offered by them, how they had offended against the known and Fundamental Laws in an Arbitrary way of Government, The Question then tacitely disputed in all mens hearts, betwixt *those who would that he should go on to do what he pleased, and those who contended to have him govern according to the Laws*, Whether there were any Power in being to emulate and check a Kings, except a Parliaments? That this Parliament, in contending to maintain the one against the other, was interrupted and opposed, and as the Scots aver, (b) *For no other reason called, then to give the King relief and ayd against their coming into England*: on which grounds they sent to the

(a) In his Declaration concerning his proceedings with his Subjects of *Scotland*, since the Pacification in the Camp near *Berwick*, printed 1640. page 38.

(b) See the Scots Remonstrance, 1640. cited by Mr. *The May*, in his History of the Parliament of *England*, written 1647.

Parliament of *England* a Justification of their proceedings, intreating them to be *wary in vindicating their own Laws and Liberties*, to frustrate the Designs of those Evil Councillors, who had procured this Parliament for no other end, then to arm the King with Warlike supplies against his *Scotish Subjects*, and by that War to enslave, if not ruine both Nations : That after many Violations and Dissolutions of Parliaments in *England*, This was not to redress Grievances, but to be so over-reached, if they were not careful and courageous, that no possibility should be left for the future redressing any; That so dangerous practices might be well suspected, when at the same time a Parliament was denied to *Scotland*, although promised on the word of a King, granted to *England*, when not expected, and obtruded upon *Ireland*, when not desired : The rise of all which was from the anger which the Scots knew the King conceived against them for some particular acts of theirs, charged with disloyalty; as, That they had refused and declared against his Messages sent them to receive the Service-Book obtruded on them; for which, as for vindicating themselves from the like charged disloyalties, they were accused by the King to have wrote a Letter (a) to the King of *France*, imploring his protection, as weary of their obedience to their own King; for which disloyal Letter (as it was termed) a chief (b) Peer of theirs was imprisoned,

(a) Cited and complained of by the King in the same Declaration against his *Scotish Subjects*, for inviting Forreign powers into this Kingdom, page 56, 57. See the Letter it self in the same Declaration, signed by seven of the principal of the Nobility of *Scotland*.

(b) The Lord *London*; see in his Answer his prudent excuse.

and condemned to dye, but saved by an Almighty hand: That the Pacification (had and made to take away all differences past, and which might ensue betwixt the King, the English and the Scots, by the prudent and joynt advice of a select Committee of English and Scots Lords, as to remove all jealousies betwixt both Nations) was soon after it was made, scorned and slighted; (4) the Scots then complaining in their Informations made unto the English their Friends and Brethren, of many injuries they had received since the Pacification made, and contrary to that Agreement (This the condition then of the Scots, these the very words of their Remonstrance) *That the Union and Brotherly League entred into by both Nations, was in the Kings indignation no otherwise construed, (b) Then an Invitation in the one, an Invasion of Forreigners in the other Nation; and howsoever the Charge in the seven Articles, exhibited against the six Members of both Houses, was laid to those few onely, yet probably it had reached many other of the English Nation, had not the first assault of violence in the Kings party miscarried as it did: So many sad and direful notes could not but portend a War against one or both Nations, as time and opportunity should best serve to manage the Design in hand, or else the Parliament must submit to the will and*

(4) See the same Book.

(b) See the Kings account of them, how in the ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ he keeps it in memory. That they were the first that began his Troubles, in the Treatise of his leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots, and elsewhere in several places of that Book; also in the Declaration printed on the Kings behalf at Oxford, 1643. page 14 and 15. suggesting an intent in them to confound the Government, and alter the Laws of England, page 28.

pleasure of an (a) incensed King, so to be dissolved or awed at pleasure : That in this agony and doubt, whether they should submit, desist, or act according to their Trust, they thought it nearly and necessarily concerned them to provide for the publique welfare, for their own and the Kingdoms safety, some of their Members being impeached and charged, two Kingdoms provoked and menaced, the (b) third also likely to bear a part in the broils of the other two, the King himself jealous and displeased, to see the Parliament (then at distance with him, in transactions of matters concerning the three Kingdoms) Petitioned and Appealed unto (termed in an envious and scornful way by some of his party, *Omnipotent* ; others murmuringly upbraiding that it was *Idolized*.) Himself, as it were, neglected and left

(a) Amongst other motives to his anger about the Earl of *Straffords* death, which whether he would have avenged on the party who condemned him, may be guessed at, in that he several times repents the injustice of that act, how *himself was forced to yield compliance, for which sin, as he mentions it, he and his Kingdoms have felt long, great and heavy troubles* : See the same Book in the Treatise concerning the Earl of *Strafford*.

(b) See the Kings grateful acknowledgement of the affection and loyalty of his Irish Subjects, in offering to supply him with Preparations, &c. together with their Persons and Estates, even to the uttermost of their ability, to reduce his disaffected Subjects of *Scotland* to their obedience ; desiring withal, It may be recorded as an Ordinance of Parliament, and to be printed as a testimony of their Loyalty to all the world, and to succeeding ages, which could not but stir up the Scots to seek protection and assistance from their fellow Subjects and Friends wheresoever ; whom the King called his disaffected Subjects, and how he doth severn them from the rest, is hard to judge ; when as the whole and most considerable part of that Kingdom, did by their *Pacts* and *Councils* at their Assemblies held, withstand, and resolve to withstand divers of his Messages, obtruding on them such matters as made against the Peace of their Church and Kingdom : See his Declaration since the Pacification, page 63.

out,

out, none or seldom Addresses made to him : So the Parliament had a narrow path to tread, between their hopes to regain the Kings lost Favor, after many Evidences of his Anger poured forth ; and their hazarding the ruine of those Principles, which by their Duty and Covenant they were to assert and defend : What those Principles were, follows in this Treatise, if rightly cast up, but two in chief, *The securing the Protestant Religion*, the *primum quarite*, *The preserving the Laws and Peace*, (a) the chiefest Law *The Peoples Safety* : The other Principles are subservient onely, and fall in by complication and dependency upon those two, as the means unto the end.

Lastly Sir, That this Parliament thus acting (you strenuously argued, as knowing well that their cause was just) their War defensive, when another (b) Gentleman of the like abilities with you, had in an excellent Speech delivered to that purpose, *That there was a succession of Designs to interrupt it ; as first, By awing and taking away the Freedom of it by an Army ; then actually assaulting it, and with the Sword to cut asunder the onely Nerves, which strengthens and knits together the King and People, the People amongst themselves, and the whole frame of Government, in one firm and, by Gods goodness, indissoluble knot of Peace and Unity* : That the Parliaments taking up Arms was to defend onely, to repel the Force and Violence practised by a few of the Kings side at first ; afterwards, to provide against the Mischief which his party, heightened through (c) Rage, and

(a) *Suprema Lex Salva Populi.*

(b) Mr. Denz. Hollis his Speech, June, 1641.

(c) Against the Parliament

pretence of (a) Loyalty, might several ways intend : That the Parliaments resisting His and his parties attempts was, as you then judged and discoursed, for no other end, Then to maintain their own just Priviledges, in order to the maintenance of the Laws and Liberties of their fellow Subjects : That they did not intend an Offensive War, the consequences whereof as of all Civil Discords, could not but prove calamitous and sad, the Event and Period as fatal and uncertain, when as besides the two parties immediately engaged each against the other, a middle and Neutral part would fall in, worse and more to be shunned then a moderate Enemy : That it being presumed, the aim and counsels of all men being for Peace and Justice, a War once waged, would hinder and destroy their aims, and produce more overtures for discord, more fresh supplies for quarrelling ; in the prosecuting whereof, many unexpected chances would fall out to increase the discord, as in the controversies & contentions between man & man, he who hath not been so forward and visibly active for the side unto which he doth adhere, shall be traduced and accused by him that loves him not, for a Neutral or an Enemy ; the Parliament could not but foresee, that in case a War were to be waged, their own Countrey-men, the English, both Officers and Common Soldiers must fight it out ; Forreigners, Soldiers of Fortune, when they have gained, will desist their undertakings and be gone ; That the English were unaccustomed to War, therefore not fit for the Discipline and managery thereof, both Officers and

(a) Towards the King.

Common Soldiers, through an easie and soft way of breeding, not able to endure the hardship and duties of a War, howbeit experience hath otherwise proved it, That the English Gallantry and their Courage, unacquainted with the conditions of a Warfare, and the temper requisite to a Soldier, might make them upon every discontent, as apt to mutiny and resist as fight (for he is not always the best Soldier who hath most courage, unless he hath temper withal to yield obedience to the commands of his Superiors.) The Parliament could not but be sensible withal, of the troubled condition of their fellow Subjects, that the apprehension of Engaging would carry with it a sad aspect, all men unwilling to, and wary how they did, engage; which if once engaged, always subject to the present Power for which they did engage: That the engaging Parties on either side, when they see the face of a War inevitably approaching, would for their better strength and union, betake themselves to what Policy, Pacts, and Leagues they could, Defensive and Offensive, as to binde themselves and friends, by Vow and Covenant; which being to consist of several Heads & Parts, could not be so exactly & entirely framed, but might admit of a doubtful sence; how to be observed, how to be understood, in part or in the whole: So consequently divide the Covenanters within themselves, They could not but withal know, that which side soever should prevail, both sides would be losers; the (4) King and Kingdom vast sufferers in the loss, as they in an humble and dutiful Message (although

(4) See it recited in the Declaration, Printed at Oxford, 1643. p. 13.
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contrariwise interpreted) did in the sadness of their hearts foretel the King, That in this War the prevailing Power would be to seek, (to carry an even and well tempered hand) how to deal with the vanquished, their own Countrymen and mistaken fellow subjects, (for 'twas a misunderstanding which first made the rent, Scorn to acknowledge and retract their Error, widened and continued it) for if they did inflict too heavy a punishment, either pecuniary by Mulct, or corporal by imprisonment, 'twould seem unjust and harsh from the Conqueror, being of their own Nation, and keep off the hopes of reconciliation and re-union; if too gentle and remiss, 'twould leave and allow the Conquered a Power and means of recovering their strength again; so that the War from revenge on the one, or from the hopes on the other side, would continue till all were lost, or the Conquered perchance become the Conquerors: That there would not want plots and stratagems, to interrupt and destroy their hopes of prevailing and success, as whilst they sate solicitous and intente to their Councils, there would be offered to them Forreign renders from abroad, private addresses here at home; all from the same disaffected and troubled Fountain, in matters concerning which, they haply have neither power nor connuzance, to take up their thoughts, and divert their Councils, to retard and hinder their success: That above all, in the doubtful events of War, as it was likely to fall out, betwixt Persons on the one part, hating to be reformed, and a Court of (4) Par-

liament on the other, chosen and set apart to redress Grievances in a Commonwealth, Offenders would apply themselves for refuge to the King, a Supreme Power; which if He did protect ((4)making thereby the offenders faults His own) would without dispute, revert to His dishonor, and consequently beget a jealousy and difference betwixt Him and His People; which if the Parliament should take ill His protecting them, there would issue a Contest preparatory to a War, thence if the King engaged, and the Parliament resist or fight, They could not hope, if they were subdued, to avoid the Charge of High Treason, nor think it an easie thing in the first beginnings of their strength, to prove Conquerors over a King, seated a long time in an Ancient Monarchy, invested with many advantages of Power, and guarded with Courtiers, Friends of all sorts, Servants, Favorites, all of which had their retinue also and train of Friends, to assist in case of needing such: That if the Parliament notwithstanding should prevail, they would and must (to keep up their power) lay Taxes and Payments on the People, who when the War did but seem, or was neer at an end, their complaints would be, and they repiningly object [The War is ended, the Payments yet continued] not considering that it is of as great concernment to keep as to gain a victory, and that Forreign enemies, as well as Domestick, are to be provided against, nor foreseeing the danger which might befall, in case the the enemy should regain a Power: That a Conqueror would be held at the best, but an Usurper for the

(4) Mr. Jo. Heywood on the life of Hen. 4.

time; That all Disasters and Evils happening, whether as Judgements from above, as Sickness, Famine, and the like; whether oppressions and wrong doings here on earth, all to be laid to the charge of the present Power, which governs and rules no better in the peoples account and murmurings, That thence they reckon all the disasters of the War to flow, not looking on the first occasion and Authors of the War: That when a victory shall be gained, (a) which naturally is proud and insolent; and by Pride comes Contentions, Emulations, and variances in Actions, as well as in opinions, the Conquerors strength would be thereby weakened, and thence in danger to lose his Power again: That until a compleat and total conquest made, which could not be without much pressure, and heavy sufferings on the vanquished, without Charge and Payments laid on all, Enemies, Friends, (Enemies in being fined for their Delinquency, Friends burthened by reason of their expence and charge in the publique Service) an Army was to be continued and maintained, to prevent Insurrections here at home, Inroads and Invasions from abroad: That an Army was to consist of multitudes of Soldiers, those multitudes would have their several humors and opinions, tending to division, consequently to the destruction and ruine of the whole: That without an extraordinary care, to please and satisfie them in their demands and wants, there would be mutinying, revolting, and inconstancy in the common Soldiery, for want of judgement to discern for what they fought: That there are to be Agents and

(a) *Victoria naturā insolens & superba est. Cicero.*

Officers belonging to and providing for an Army, Receivers Expenditors Treasurers, others too many to be here recited, who *in troubled waters* will bring in to their private bank what is raised for the publique use, or at least *the people jealous will surmise as much and that the war and calamities thereof are protracted through their corruption and privy gainings*. That if the Conquerors Power shall at any time abate before a full and total conquest made, he will be to seek what course to take to increase it again, Forcing and Impressing men to fight in a cause so intricate as unto some it did seem then, and for a long time controverted as this hath been, will prove harsh and irksome and will meet with resistance in a People made and born free. These and many more of this kinde, whither preposterously and scatteredly or methodically set down, might imprint in you an undoubted knowledge of this Parliaments just Actings; and these Reasons of foresight, together with what hath past, might induce all knowing and impartial men to rest satisfied that the Parliament did not intend to leavy a War against the King, who had as many Friends to adhere unto as the Parliament had Enemies of many sorts, offenders interested and obnoxious Persons to confront and oppose them: But I may spare the pains of setting forth what your own prudence hath foreseen and your Actions hath thitherto directed you. For Sir R. C. his sake and yours, rather through the same motions of Conscience, Judgement, many other Gentlemen of quality did take part with ye. Before and after his untimely death you carried us on in an active constancy, challenging about seven years

since, some Travellers of the opposite Party, and enquiring whither they went, they confessed to *Oxford*, and their errand; you roughly replied ['twas they and such as they, that did take part with the King against his Parliament and People, That they did magnifie the King, to beget and foment a War] A little before, you with many other Gentlemen of the three neighboring Counties did enter into an Association for a joyntly defending one another: If the Enemy shall prevail, whither it will be Treason for what is past, or made so for the time to come, I argue not; but remember well how criminal and traiterous the Kings friends have reported it. About six years since, the Enemy growing powerful in the these parts and *Bristol* being gained by Him, you lived within His quarters, bound by strong obligation not to depart, but to be limited to a summons. The King soon after He had taken that City, came thither to compose the difference between Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Hartford*, about the Governorship of that Place: He had then amongst other things, a survey of the Gentlemen dwelling neer, and their affections, casting and examining with his friends there, who might be for, who against Him; some of His Courtiers undertook for this, some for that Gentleman and Neighbor: A great Courtier, a friend of yours, undertook or moved His Majestie on your behalf, whereunto the King, having been belike possessed before with an ill opinion of you, replied with harsh and disgraceful words, as I have credibly heard, against your person; which 'tis presumed He could not charge you with, from any immediate or neer notice He had

had of you; but as you were represented unto Him by some who loved you not. He nevertheless, whether out of His Indulgence to gain you unto His Party or to Try you after when He had made sure His Conquest, your Name being in the Catalogue of this County Rebels, the^(a) Time and Place appointed for your Trial, was content to preserve you from being undone being then at His mercy; what use might be made of His sparing you, you knew best. Two years after, *Bristol* was got from Him, much of which Service attributed unto you with some other Gentlemen of the Neighborhood leading up the Countrymen unto the siege thereof, the Lord General then and afterwards giving you applause for that your aid. About three years since, you caused divers meetings to be had in several Towns neer unto us, where the Countrimen were summoned to declare what Arms they had, whatsoever the pretence was in looking into the poors book relieveable by a Statute Law and taking care for them, examining the estates of such as were ablest to relieve such poor, of such as were fit and best able to repulse Soldiers in case they came on the suddain to quarter below hill or to do other violence, then to return up hill to their friends who might assist them (such was the condition of these and the adjacent parts where Parties were scattered up and down; the Parliament having friends in these inclosed and neerer Parts, the King in the Champeign and not far distant from us) Yet you, my self, and the Countrymen knew we had another and

(a) Lent Assizes appointed to be held at *Tewkesbury*, April 11. 1643

more uniform aim of preventing suddain incursions, which the Kings Party (many of them being Gentlemen and well horsed) might offer unto our Neighbors. Not long after, you were chosen to be our Knight for the County, in the competition of which place your servant was sedulous and successful to take off all blemishes then thrown on you by those who labored as much to fill the County Court with the noise of your being for the King: Soon after that, you were challenged by a Fellow-Member (a) sitting in the House of Parliament to be within one of the Qualifications which renders men Delinquents: Notwithstanding which you sate voted and were trusted in the House: At several meetings you enforced such Arguments against the Kings Party and for the Parliaments (you have them yet in your breast and can deal at single hand with any of the opposite Party, if affection importunity and often dropping strange inventions into your ears shall not mis-lead you) that you satisfied the hearers, and even convinced them had they been convincible. Since that, upon the newly hatched and easie to be reconciled difference between the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, you received a Letter from your above named servant, mentioning the probability of the Armies advance in or about *July* was twelvemonth towards *London*; in that Letter setting forth That neither of those two Tenents of *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, had taken as yet such root as to beget a quarrel to the overthrow of both upon their conquering; which I rather think to be an event of their good success then from any self-wilful humor, many of them on either part being sober and discerning

Gentlemen

(a) Sir
F. H.

Gentlemen; And if thoroughly weighed what is like to be the issue of this new subdivision, that for the dissentings sake of three or four Gentlemen (you will not grant that there are many whom you think to have been forward to lead on a party) for whose known valor whose many continued and successful Atchievements in this War bringing ye to this plenitude of Power, you may easily dispence with them for one puny Error in Opinion; that I say the People must embroil in a second War about terms meerly notional, about opinions strange and unknown to them; (in the first War, they knew for whom they fought, for the King or for the Parliament) about a Form of Government which hath not nor can take root until the War which confounds and overthrows all Government, be ended. The direct and certain question of the War was, *Whither the King having by His Creatures actually invaded the Subjects Liberties* (the other Differences in Church and State are Collateral, accidentally emergent out of the grand Difference about the first and more principal, the Subjects Liberty) *The Court of Parliament should sit as Scepticks to look on only, without purposing or endeavoring to redress the same,* or to be confined in their Councils as their Enemies should prescribe, or, the extreamest of all, so driven to new Councils to extraordinary high and severe Proceedings to seldom practised and unheard of Courses, the passages and quality of Persons with whom they had to deal being weighed withal, as where the Disease is imminently dangerous the Mischief desperate, the Cure must be answerable or the whole Body perish for want of a timely

timely and prudent Remedy to be applied. Your Actions, Sir, if rigid and severe as to your Enemies, if variable and uncertain as to your selves, may in these straits and exigencies whereunto ye are driven and forced for safety, be dispenced with. It seems to fare with ye as with Seafaring men in a boisterous storm, who are feign to steer their Vessel which way they may best secure their Fraught and Charge; sometimes Northerly, sometimes plain North, sometimes North-west, sometimes North-east, sometimes plain South, sometimes North again; so from one cross point to another, having still the Harbor and end of their Voyage in their Eye: So with ye, encountring with such uncertainty and variety of oppositions from your Enemies (yet all meeting in one Center to the subversion of your Power and Strength) such Non-conformity and Dissention, even amongst your selves and friends, that ye cannot as yet act within a direct certain and constant compass to please all lookers on: Yet your aim and end may be one and the same, the supreamest Law the Peoples (4) safety; wherein if ye shall fail or not able to make good your undertakings, we know by a seven years since experience, how barbarously and cruelly your enemies malice did shew it self against ye, as being Rebels; In case they shall recover their Power again, how a desperate revenge added to, will second their first and furious cruelty, and to crown their glory as for the better exalting their pretence, they

(3) *Nulla tam Sancta Lex est quam non oporteat, si salus Populi postuler*
urgensque necessitas, mutare. Bodm. lib. 4. de Repub.

shall impute it unto Gods justice, saying [*It is Gods doing*, it may be his suffering it through your Divisions, and it is marvellous in our eyes that he hath wrested the sword out of our Enemies hands, and put it into ours; for no man, they'll say, can think that Rebellion shall for ever pass unpunished] Then, when they have regained their Power, they will not want Arguments from their own as from a Neutral part siding with them upon their Conquering, to bring whom they please within the compass of Treason and Rebellion, to make your Persons and your Acts their sport and scorn, as ye have discovered and of late (a) declared your just fears thereof: These stout and circumspect ways of yours are most remembred and deepliest lodged in their breasts who speak least of them: I am onely the Remembrancer, and cannot believe it to be a defection and falling off, as that you think the Parliament and their strength too weak to protect their Members, therefore to forsake it: Your power is visible yet, your strength not shortned; the great difficulties the fierce conflicts which ye have wrestled with, the revolving of your Friends the multiformity of Opinions amongst your selves might have abated your success and weakned your strength, had not an Almighty hand supported ye amongst those difficulties; never so many Stratagems Policies and Falshoods practiced by an Enemy to impair your strength, to advance their own, but that the God of Truth hath discomfited and dispelled them all; in which, whether he hath done it in favor to the justice

(a) See your Remonstrance, 1647.

of your Cause, or in his fore-knowledge of their malice to be avenged if they could have got the upper hand, I leave it to the judgement of the cryed up Author, who hath more fitly observed (a) *That Gods wise Providence often permits what his revealed word approves not*, then he hath suited his resembling your successes to prosperous winds filling the sails of Pirats to justify their Piracy; when as the giving or denying Victory and Courage in the day of Battel is a more immediate and effectual work of Gods Almighty power, acting and taking an especial care in disposing the affairs of War. To proceed and shew how petty a difference there is betwixt those two Tenents, is easie for any man who shall enquire into the quality of either, of what growth settlement or extent they are: The one (the Presbyterian) not ripe enough as yet to be established, neither the times now fit to entertain a fixt or established Form of Government to binde all sorts of men, many having been left at Liberty whether they have or will take the Covenant; many who have taken it thinking themselves not obliged forthwith and in all parts to keep it, having for some cause discovered since their taking, set it aside: The other (the Independent) a seeming rather then a certain abdication or total renouncing all Government, or for ever. The Lord General and his Army (called Independants, but why let them that call them so answer for it) have solemnly (b) declared against such Disorder and Non-Government: The Indepen-

(a) Εἰκὸν Βασιλική, page 163.

(b) In their Remonstrance, dated November, 1648. page 6.

dent party, as they are called, may haply desire to shake off that heavy yoke of Government, which grown through the corruption of maners and indulgency of times into Abuse, Exorbitancy and Oppressings, doth gall and heavily press their fellow Subjects necks, not by an easie or ordinary course to be taken off: The contention, indeed, betwixt those two, Presbyterian, Independent, growing, as before observed, through the pride of conquering, or cunningly contrived by their common Enemy, on purpose by dividing them to overcome them both. The difference in dispute, is not in Opinion but in Fact, as (amongst other things) unto whose charge the deluge of blood spilt in this War is to be laid: Ye have declared, That it is to be laid at the King his parties doors, particularly the blood-guilty and horrid act of hindring the relief of *Ireland*, whereby many thousands of his Protestant Subjects have been slain; ye instancing first in the sparingly and too late proclaiming *their Enemies Rebels when the Rebellion first broke out; by signing Commissions to the chief Actors in the Rebellion*: the Parliaments Commissioners at the Treaty at (a) *Uxbridge* urging besides, *His disapproving the Subscriptions of the Adventurers and Officers of the Army employed for the relief of His Protestant Subjects there, by means whereof the course intended was then diverted, His making a Cessation with the Rebels, which had it not been made in the time of their greatest wants and the Forces employed against them not drawn off, they*

(a) See the Objections and Answers at large, in the Relation of the Passages at the Meeting at *Uxbridge*, 1644. printed then at *Oxford*.

might in probability have been ere this subdued, and the War even finished, Instead thereof it is protracted, That Kingdom having been by the prowess and wisdom of His (a) Predecessors, kept entire, united unto and a (b) Member of this State of England, is by His and his parties strength abetting it, put into a condition and even invited to invade and conquer This; That the Commissioners sent by the two Houses of Parliament for the better supply and encouragement of the Army in that Kingdom, were discountenanced and commanded from the Council there, where the prosecution of the War was to be managed, and by whose Authority and Command was all this done? The last and least of presumptions in the cause, His Soldiers taking away the Provision and Clothes on the Highways in the way to Westchester, from whence they were to be transported thither: So the Question by way of Argument between the Commissioners on either side, is laid aside, and now to be decided by no other Umpire then the Sword; and what the two opposite parties on either side have along time strove for (the one defending their cause by Vehemency and height of Wit, the other theirs by solid and substantial Prudence) is left to the Conqueror to determine. But to the Reasons of your deserting your first judgement, if so you have, I rather judge it to be a fencing and tryal of wits, in an Argumentative way of discoursing onely, then any settled re-

(a) Hen. 2. & Eliz.

(b) The Law Book cases give the reason why, the bringing counterfeit Money into England, out of Ireland, is but misprision of Treason, although the bringers know and utter it, Quia Hibernia est membrum Angliæ, Dalton Justice of Peace, in cap. de High-Treason.

volting from your first Opinion: The Arguments you have lately taken up against the residing part of the Parliament and the Army the maintainer of your Power and, next under God, the Preserver of our Peace, are none of yours, nor like to yours: The House of Parliament being grown thin, by your and other Gentlemen of your eminency deserting it is become more thin; the more weak it is through your defections, the more need it hath of being supported by your returns: As for the force which you and your subdivided party urge, *to be offered to ye by the Army your Servants*, (an high affront and breach of Parliament priviledges,) Both your parties, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, seem to be forced alike, not in an equal degree of strength and number, but in a strict and closer tye of Policy and Prudence, by and through an extream and inevitable necessity to the preservation of ye and your Friends: Neither you nor any of your party can devise or act a means how to settle such a course as may prevent a total confusion, or the overthrow of those who have already prevailed by the Sword, nor to still the common Enemy and Avenger: But if he being hard driven, shall by Treaty or other unsafe way of settling a Peace prevail, he is left at liberty to do his pleasure: In Treaties or like ways of Parleance, what security can he give or will he keep, commensurate to the safety and welfare of many thousands engaged in this quarrel, to the avoidance of those Dangers and Jealousies already administred by him? Within these three years, you instanced *Hen. 3.* His compliance and signing Articles, which when He had by that recovered His Power again, kept none of

them. But to your Arguments, *and your paraleling the Kings offering a Force to six of the Houses of Parliament, to the Force you urge is offered you;* He might do it to exercise a Regal Power above the Laws, from assuming unto Himself an unlimited and strong conceit of His Sovereignty and Transcendency of Might in nothing to be resisted, to awe and force the present Parliament and all future Parliaments (in case He had any purpose to convene any more) to His beck, as 'tis probable. Not long after, by the like menacing and imperious Act of Proclaiming those Gentlemen Traytors, who either obeyed not or refused to conform to His present Will; there was no necessity, but his sole Will to force all those who complied not with Him to save and rescue His Creatures from the hand of Justice. And whither there be not now a stronger necessity then before the great and universal Engagement of many good and deserving men, I appeal to you. Sir, in that you take it ill that your *Servants* (so the Army stile themselves) *should force their Masters:* They are not simply and precisely Servants immediate, sub-ordinate rather, many of them your Equals, Commanders and Officers in the Army, the common Soldiery commanded and led by Them: or the Army, relatively unto ye, as Jurors in a Trial of Assize before a number of Judges (for so ye are, although the resemblance holds not adequately as to an Army and to a Jury) Let a major part of Judges incline or direct which way they please, yet an upright Jury will finde according to the Evidence in being. The Evidence in this case is the certainty of knowing and recollecting things past,

past, the foresight of things to come, which induceth them to bring in such verdict as may render all things just and safe. For when it shall happen to be debated which ought to be preferred, the priviledge of Parliament, or the safety of a Kingdom, every one can judge which ought to sway the ballance: Again, admit the Army to be your Servants; yet properly they are Servants unto those from whom they receive their Pay, that is from the Kingdom neither from the *Presbyterian* nor *Independent* Party: In a mixt and joynt Government where more then one commandeth, and a mutual consent had betwixt the Governors that the Servants shall obey the discreeter Party, as between a Master and a Mistris in a Family, they mutually consent that their Family shall be directed by the wiser of the two; there it is left to the election and discretion of the Family, which of them (Mr. or Mrs.) to pay obedience unto: It skills not in a Governing and Politique Body (consisting of many Ruling and all consenting in the main) which is the Major part unless that Major part will do the whole work themselves, without the help of those whom they do employ; Which of them is to be obeyed? That Part rather which acts and endeavors (without respect had to the Majority) in the more prudent watchful and safe way. So 'tis no Disobedience or Affront offered by your Army, where obedience may be dangerous to the obeyors, to your Party and your Adherents: For whereas some of the Kings Party prefer the *Presbyterian* before the *Independent*, some the *Independent* before the *Presbyterian*, (a) hating both, yet giving good words unto & complying with the

(a) See the
ΕΙΛΩΝ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ,
P. 224.

the more discontented and weaker Party, until by their cunning Artifice they overcome them also : So in this *leger de main* and sleight of wit, blow the coals of Dissention betwixt ye both, ye of the *Presbyterian* can look for no other then *Poliphemus* his courtesie to be of those, last to be devoured : Besides, as to the Major or Minor part of Members sitting in the House, or secluded or voluntarily absenting themselves from the House, so that the greater number are absent as you reckon, Take heed of that Objection, lest you open an old wound (long since salved up through Gods blessing on your success) and that Objection be made use of against ye all of both Houses, and against that Authority whereby ye have at any time acted since the contention first began, betwixt the Kings Parties claim to their Parliament at *Oxford* and the Parliaments Parties claim to theirs at *Westminster* : For if the Kings Party did rightly calculate their numbers (which were in both Houses of Lords and Commons) (a) 257. either personally sitting at *Oxford* or occasionally absent upon employment for the King, yet in heart intending and ready on summons to sit and Vote with the rest there, that number exceeded that of those sitting at *Westminster* : So that the Argument for plurality of Members Presbyterially affected and that way Covenanted, against which the Kings Friends have learnedly, as yet

(a) See their Declaration printed at *Oxford*, March 1643. towards the end of the Book.

unansweredly (a) argued, is no safe or prudent Argument at this time to be used, however abetted and seconded in an elaborately written Letter by the *London* Ministers, least ye help your first and common enemy to rowse an Objection, which hath a long time slept, for maintaining their Parliament at *Oxford*: For, by the way, had those Ministers employed their pains in answering that Book their Letter might have been better credited and more universally received. They much insist on the Protestation taken *May 1641.* wherein the protesting is *For the maintenance of the Kings Honor, Person and Estate*, yet the end (at which all matters of weight do aim) is the preservation of Religion, Laws and Liberties; the maintenance of the Kings Honor &c. is but a piece of the Protestation; the sum, full sence and scope thereof, the preservation of Religion &c. The drift of one of the Grecian wise mens advice was [*Respice finem*] and the prudential Proverbe is (made good by an acute *Epigram*) *Non refert quâ sed quô;* So the maintenance of the Kings Honor &c. are but the means onely in relation and order to the End, the preservation of Religion, Laws &c. Again, as to that part of the Covenant [*That They had then no intentions to diminish the Kings just Power and Greatness*] They might intend no leis, until They saw They could not overcome Him by humble Applications and Addresses, that They could not discern

(a) In a Book filed [*The present judgement of the Convocation at Oxford dat. June 1647.*] Which it weighed with the Arguments in the late Letter written by the *London* Ministers to the Lord *Fairfax* and his Council of War dat. *Jan 1648.* in behalf of the Covenant, and the keeping it; the Reader will soon discern the odds.

any acknowledgement of His former Errors, any placable or propitious heart towards His Parliament and People, any condescending to those Propositions as the onely and necessary means for settling a safe Peace, long since tendred to him joyntly and unanimously by ye all Presbyterians and Independents as they are called, yet not all of ye concluding or providing what was to be done in case he did refuse: But instead thereof, contrary to the (a) Articles of the large Treaty agreed upon, *viz. That none should be admitted to his Council or Attendance but such as should be approved of by both Kingdoms*, gracing and preferring to his neereest secrecy and trust a person proclaimed guilty of high Treason; charging still and banding with the Parliament the Supreamest and greatest Council for *Weight and Number* in all *EUROPE*, contending tolay the blood spilt in this war at their doors, & theirs alone, ever seeking by his Pyoners, by a covert and restless ill wil, one way against the (b) Place receiving them, another against their Friends assisting them, to undermine their Power: They thought *the Covenant not like an Almanack*

494.

(a) See the Articles of the large Treaty, page 16. Demand 4. granted by the King, August 1641.

(b) See the Book called *Εγκύριον Βασιλικόν*, page 23. and elsewhere in that Book, his parties constant and continued ill will towards that City.

The City of London stiled by his party in their wonted invectives against it, *The Nursery and Treasury of Arms and Ammunition employed against their King.*

See their Declaration printed at Oxford, 1643. page 14, 15. against the suggested irregular and undue proceedings of the Common Council in London, the Representative of the whole City.

out of date (a) as the Ministers smilingly object, but like an Obligation where the Obligor is destitute and left remediless through the Obligee his restless fury and oppression disabling him from performing his conditions. One part of the Covenant then taken was, *That they had no thoughts or intentions to diminish the Kings just power and greatness*: Another part was, when they press the Covenant taking, the maintenance of the Peace and Union between the three Kingdoms, *They would bring to justice all without respect of persons, who did or should wilfully oppose the same or hinder such Peace and Union*: So that if the King did by Himself, by His Friends and Followers, by His example awing other men from taking the Covenant, or did by any Power or Commission given, whether to defend Himself or to offend His opposites, act or abet whereby the Peace became disturbed, one Kingdom engaged against another, the Parliament could not according to their Covenant preserve his power and greatness, and punish such without *respect of persons* as did wilfully (b) oppose the same, comprehending all who did adhere

(a) See the Letter of the Ministers within the Province of London, and their notice taking of the Parliament and Armies conceit had of the Covenant, page 8.

(b) See his parties Opinion of the Covenant and the taking it in the "ΕΛΛΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ", page 113, 114, 115. whither and how far it is to be kept, how little uniformity there is in the taking or keeping it, and for what purpose in the Authors judgement framed at first, how ambiguous and hard to be understood, how much mistaking or dissembling in the making it at first or misrepresenting by those who like it not that howbeit one part thereof is [That then they had no intention to diminish the Kings just Power and Greatness] the Author in his name conceives *That it was made and intended against the King*, as in many places of the Treatise against the Covenant he complaineth.

See also his Declaration since the Pacification against the Scots and the Covenant. pag. 49.

unto or take part with him: So that the Covenant, the parts whereof seem to be inconsistent and irreconcilable within themselves, and therefore not perfectly and exactly to be kept, is either newly to be molded or (which is more probable) the War to continue between the Covenanters and the non-Covenanters, many thousands of men neither having nor (through the Kings example) willing to take the same. The great quarrel of ignorant men against the uniform current of the holy Scripture, of an higher concernment then an humane Covenant, is acutely taken up by a learned (a) Author, *Distigue tempora & reconcilantur Scriptura*, in answer unto those who cavil against the Scriptures, as if the Texts thereof were dissonant and repugnant each to other, as if Gods Word certain and infallible in it self, were contradictory to it self: Distinguish between the time of the Covenant taking, four or five years before the time of bringing the King to Tryal, Observe the limitation in the particle of the Covenant, [*That they had then no intencion to diminish the Kings just Power*] in opposition to unlawful and arbitrary, and you will finde that the Covenant either could not be so well and safely taken, or that it is not so heinously broken as your Enemies give out: But to your Objections against the Army, That in adhering unto them is to trust to an arm of Flesh; so all sublunary and earthly Powers are but Arms of flesh. Secondly, That *Independency admits of all Irreligion, Heresies, &c.* The Proposition is not well proved, in that some particular Soldiers belonging or

(a) Patens.



others welwishing to the Army do devise and publish strange and unsound Tenents and Opinions, which is not to be imputed to the Army or the Parliament, neither is a present cure to be applied for redress thereof in all parts and places where they are vented: The Army and their party have enough to do to prevent and provide against the Power and Policy of their Enemies, without an over hasty endeavoring to suppress the Schisms and Errors of every one of their Adherents; the complaint against Heresies & Schisms abounding is just and seasonable, and the Heresies most fit to be suppressed; the complaint is made long since and it was foretold of old, that *Heresies must be*, &c. the Apostle gives the Reason, *That the sound and approved Truth may be known from fond and received Heresie*; the ground and seminary of broaching them may be besides the common and inbred corruption of Pride and Falshood which mankind is prone unto, that so many sorts of men, in many places do despise and speak against the Scripture, although the Rule of Christian Faith: Others unwarranted do undertake to teach and expound the same. In disordered and licentious times, caused through the distractions of a civil War, it may fall out as a Father of the Church complained it did in his of Scripture Teachers, of Expounders of the mysteries in Divinity, cited by a Learned Divine upon the words of the Apostle; charging the *unlearned and unstable for wresting the Scriptures to their own destruction*, whose presumption is enough to produce any Schism or Heresie: (a) *Sola*, saith he,

(a) St. Jerome.

“*Scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes passim vendi-*
 “*cant, hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc So-*
 “*phista verbosus,* (he might have added others also,
 “unlearned Tradesmen) *hanc universi presumunt,*
 “*lacerant, docent antequam discunt,* Every one pre-
 “suming upon his gifts and parts to be a Teacher and
 “Interpreter of Scripture, whereas Practitioners in
 “other Arts can contain themselves within the
 “bounds of their own profession: The reason why
 “the unlearned are so bold, may be their want of
 “ability to discern the strength of the Objections
 “which may be made against them; by the Unlearned
 “is not meant he who hath not read a multitude of
 “Authors, but he who taking upon him to divide
 “the Word of God is raw and unexperienced, or if he
 “hath experience, wants judgement to make use of it:
 “The anguish that these rash presumers bring unto
 “the discreeter sort of Brethren cannot but be great,
 “when being convinced of their unsound opinions
 “for the maintaining that which with much boldness
 “and open falsehoods they have averred, they pre-
 “tend the Authority of the Word, and whatsoever
 “conceit is begotten in their heads, the Spirit of
 “God to be presently the Author of it, when as
 “learned and judicious men, in whom the Lord hath
 “put wisdom & understanding to know how to work
 “all manner of work for the service of the Sanctuary,
 “like *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, refuse much of the stuff
 “which is offered them. Scripture is given to all
 “to learn; to teach, to interpret, onely to a few:
 “It is the voyce of God confessed by all, that the
 “sense is Scripture, not the words; it cannot there-
 “fore be avoided, but he that wilfully strives to fasten
 some -

"some sense of his own upon it other then the na-
 "ture of the place will bear, must needs take upon
 "him the person of God himself, and to be an in-
 "dictor of Scripture, *No Scripture is of private inter-*
 "*pretation*, There can be but two certain and infalli-
 "ble Interpreters of it, either it self or the Holy
 "Ghost the Author of it; it self doth then expound
 "it self when the words and circumstances do sound
 "unto the Reader the prime natural and principal
 "sense: Besides these two, all other Interpretation
 "is private, wherefore as the Lord of the Philistines
 "sometimes said of the Kine which drew the Ark
 "unto Bethshemesh, *If they go of themselves, then*
 "*is this from God; but if they go another way, then*
 "*it is not from God, it is but some chance that hath*
 "*happened to us*: So it may be said of all pretended
 "sence of Scripture; if Scripture come unto it of it
 "self, then it is of God; but if it go another way
 "or violently urged or goaded on, then it is but a
 "matter of chance of mans devising and invention:
 "As for those marvellous discourses of some, framed
 "upon presumption of the Spirits help in private in-
 "judging and interpreting difficult places in Scrip-
 "ture, their boldness cannot be sufficiently wondred
 "at. The Spirit is a thing of dark and secret ope-
 "ration, the maner of it none can descry: As un-
 "derminers are never seen till they have wrought
 "their purpose; so the Spirit is never perceived but
 "by its effects. The effects of the Spirit as far as
 "they concern knowledge and instruction, are not
 "particular information for resolution in any
 "doubtful case (for this were plainly Revela-
 "tion) but as the Angel which was sent to Cor-
nelius

" *nelius* informs him not but sends him to *Peter*
 " to school; so the Spirit teaches not, but stirs
 " up in us a desire to learn, desire to learn makes us
 " thirst after the means, pious sedulity and careful-
 " ness makes us watchful in the choice and diligent
 " in the use of the means. The promise to the A-
 " postles of the Spirit which *should lead them into all*
 " *Truth*, was made good unto them by private and
 " secret informing their understandings with the
 " knowledge of high and heavenly mysteries which
 " as yet had never entred into the conceit of any
 " man; the same promise is made unto us, but ful-
 " filled after another maner: For what was written
 " by Revelation in their hearts, for our instruction
 " have they written in their Books, to us for informa-
 " tion, otherwise then out of these Books the Spi-
 " rit speaketh not: When the Spirit regenerates a
 " man, it infuseth no knowledge of any point of
 " Faith, but sends him to the Church and to the Scri-
 " ptures; when it stirs him up to newness of life, it
 " exhibites not unto him an *Inventory* of his sins as
 " hitherto unknown, but either supposes them known
 " in the Law of Nature, of which no man can be
 " ignorant, or sends him to learn from the mouth of
 " his Teachers: More then this, in the ordinary pro-
 " ceeding of the Spirit in matter of instruction, no
 " sober man could ever yet determine. So that to
 " speak of the help of the Spirit in private, either in
 " dijudicating or interpreting of Scripture, is to
 " speak they know not what. Which is the rather
 " worth the notice, because by experience we have
 " learnt how apt men are to call their own conceits
 " *the Spirit*, which because it is an especial Error
 charged

" charged by a (a) Father of the Church on this
 " kinde of men to be the more prone to kindle
 " *Schisme* and *Contention* in the Church, by how
 " much the more they seem to themselves to be en-
 " dued with a more eminent measure of Spirit then
 " their Brethren, deserves reproof; whilest under
 " pretence of interpreting, they rudely and rashly
 " broach their own conceits. Sir, There may be
 much spent upon this one effect of this Civil War: I
 have bin too long in these digressions, the labor of an-
 other mans, but that you may be hereby satisfied how
 improbable it is that wel-bred wise and learned men,
 howsoever Malice hath cast this Contumely on them,
 do wilfully & willingly countenance these unlearned
 Sectaries, and rude Intruders into *Moses* Chair:
 They are willing, for ought it appears to the contrary,
 to promote the means of Learning, to give encour-
 ragement to the encrease thereof by their favor and
 respect shewn unto the Schools and Nurseries, in their
 Acts and Ordinances exempting them from any
 Charge or Tax for raising Moneys towards this
 War: Neither do they neglect or disesteem the *Uni-*
versities or other *Seminaries* of Learning, or take
 away the Endowments of Colledges, as their E-
 nemies give out, because of able and learned Schol-
 lars of the Universities and elsewhere, sequestred for a
 time and dispossessed of part of their estates by reason
 of their constant prejudice and ill-will against the *Par-*
liament and their *Proceedings*, the Parliament know-
 ing such to be interested, engaged, and not long since
 seasoned by the Enemy garrisoning in one of the Uⁿ

(a) *St. Augustine.*

Declarati-
on, p. 27.

niversities to contrive their overthrow. Delinquents compounding for their offence or the sequestring their Estates (a punishment inflicted by the Parliament) is easier to be born, taking withall the justice of the Cause which is here examined, then the confiscating the Parliaments Friends Estates for their adhering to that side; which they could not but expect, when Neutrals, spectators onely, are in danger and a Law enforced for their forbearing *to defend the King*. The unhappines of this Disease, viz. of Heresies abounding, of the unlearned their broaching them, of the causes and consequences thereof, is to be ascribed to the Authors and occasion of the War, before which and many years together the Church was at Peace and unity within it self, it had none of this sort of adversaries to disturbe the same; but enough of this. To your other Objection, *That Independency* (as 'tis called) *denies all Order and Government*, when as they have Remonstrated and Protested for the contrary: Whatsoever they may for a time for reasons best known to themselves, and upon the altering the present state of things, Ordain and Act to the laying aside Degrees and Orders heretofore in use, They or their Successors may when the Storm threatned is over, the danger of being overcome is past, reduce and bring the Government of this Nation, the course of Parliaments and other Constitutions, into their pristine and former state again: Rather the rigid Royalist seems to give way to Irreligion &c. when as his malice and envy are so fierce against the opposite Party (called *Independents*) that he will rather submit unto and joyn with the Turk or Jew, then to be mastered by that Party
betwixt

betwixt whom and him there is a kinde of difference, no true or real, onely a notional and imaginary one. His envy grows out of being overcome, and doth appear from the judgement and censure he hath of them, in the punishment had he prevailed he would have condemn'd them to; For of the moderate sort of the Parliament and their Friends he holds them (a) *unskilful vulgar spirited weak and seduced men, for siding with the People*, as they term it, and their *multitudes*, the more eminent and active sort, *Traitors, Perjured all*, yea the *Neutrals too, for not offering to defend the King &c.* according to the Oath of Allegiance. By their large extending which Oath, they may bring many within the compass of Perjury. The King being to maintain the Laws &c. and bound as a Supream Power *to take vengeance on evil doers* (without which *He bears the Sword in vain*) as the Subjects are to their Allegiance, the Obligation is reciprocal, as the two Houses of Parliament when allowed to be and stiled by the King Himself a Parliament, with an unanimous consent observed in their (b) *Message sent unto Him in a few words expressed, sinisterly commented on by the opposite Party*: If the King may dispence with His Oath, and that *He reckons Himself accomptable to none but God* (which the Parliament objects as a *Maxime and Ground for any Tyranny*) the enacting Laws is of no value as to the King, and how far swearing Allegiance is to the Subject, is the question.

(a) See the Declaration of the Lords and Commons assenbled at Oxford &c. printed there 1643. Pag. 24, 26, 27.

(b) See the Message printed with the above named Declaration dat. March 9. 1643.

In this onely lies the odds upon the event of which Party shall prevail in this War, If the PARLIAMENT shall, They are notwithstanding subject to the Reproach and Obloquy of slanderous Tongues and Pens, Their demeanor not free from being Censured and Reviled: No such salve for Them, as for the King, in case He should have prevailed by what means soever, for the wise man asks who shall say that a King is wicked? and the French Proverbe tells us, *Que la Couronne unefois prinse offre toute sorte de defaults*, The meaning is, when the King shall have regained His former full and regal Power, the Parliament and theirs then born down, His repossessing His Crown shall as well quit all quarrels and exceptions and cancel all disputes, as it shall clear all manner of Faults and Crimes, concerning the means how He attained His Conquest. The substance of that Oath even now objected is in these words, *That the Pope hath no Power either of himself or by any means to depose the King, or Authorise any Forreign Prince to invade or annoy Him, to bear Arms against or offer Him violence or hurt, That no Declaration, Sentence of Excommunication or Deprivation made by the Pope, hath Power to absolve any subject from his Allegiance, by reason or colour of any such Sentence or Declaration.* The Oath of Supremacy was enjoined against all Forreign Princes, States or Potentates, upon occasion of great exactions taken from the Subjects of this Kingdom by Forreign Princes usurping over them, until the (a) enacting this provisory Oath. The Royalists to make good this charge of Perjury, which they cannot unless they gain a Power, leave no ways untried, no stone unmoved; what

(a) See
the Statute
1^{mo}. Eliz.
1. and the
Preamble
thereof.

what Wit and Invention can bring in to promote their Industry, by all the artificial and fained means they can to keep up their Party, as by *subtile insinuating and giving out the Kings purpose to proceed more indulgently and mildely against the Parliament and their Friends, in case He shall prevail by Treaty or the Sword, then Himself hath any where promised or any of His former or latter actions have declared, as that an easie Composition or Fine shall expiate their offence of Treason and Rebellion*; which insinuatings and reportings in favor to the King work strongly on the unstable wavering in their affections, By a counterfeit pitying and bemoaning their own low condition, *how vanquished, how weak, how still'd they are*, not that they think themselves truly so, but that they may thereby be the less perceived to exercise their art of gaining their Strength and Power again, both by nourishing Discontents and Seditions here at home, and having Factors and Emissaries to sollicite their cause abroad, By traducing and depressing the esteem of the Parliament and their Actions, to render their Persons the more odious and contemptible, thence the more weak and easie to be subdued; By contriving and inventing Falshoods sometimes in the nature of reporting Prophecies in favor to the King and his success, as to give out how *happy and victorious he or his Posterity shall be*, to try if they can bring the fruits of their endeavors within the compass of such Prophecies fulfilled; By seditious Pamphletings and privily dispersing such, by publishing other more weighty, no less seditious Books, obtruding them on such Authors as they please, all to affect the Reader

sometimes in the Kings name, always in his behalf, particularly that Posthume one called Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, by many men given out to be his, which if the Parliaments often Declarations, Charges and Remonstrances against him and his proceedings be true, those applauded Tracts and Meditations in that Book are but a reinforced dissembling put upon him, and the Greek words might be rather translated into the *Image and Pourtraiture of a Counterfeit* (for the Author counterfeiting the King, makes the Fallhoods and Impostures obtruded upon the King to be his own) then into the *Image of a Prince*: who-soever shall read the Parliaments often Declarations and Charges against the King, set forth since the beginning of this War, not denyed or answered by any of his party, saving in a recriminatory and scoffing way, calling the Parliament and their Adherents *Rebels*; or who shall read (a) the History of the Parliament of *England* summarily reciting the Kings averfness from Parliaments, cannot but acknowledge that (b) Book, whatsoever the fair and plausible flourishes in it pretend of *the Kings inclining to and desiring Parliaments*, to be falsely and injuriously charged on him; Falsly, because they cannot but know how unwillingly and seldom he called any, how oft he did dissolve or attempt to dissolve them when they were called; whence the Answer meets the Objection which many of the adverse party make, *That the Parliaments party did begin the preparations for a War before the Kings*: The Kings

(a) Written by Mr. Tho: May, 1647.

(b) See the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, on that Tract.

(a) averſneſs to call Parliaments, his awing & diſſolving them at pleaſure (b) often and long before any preparations could be thought of for a War, may ſatiate the objection, when as moreover divers of his Friends and Party have long before fortified and furniſhed their houſes in many parts of the Kingdom with Arms and Ammunition, no other notice taken till of late then of adorning ſuch for ſtrength and ſplendor, which with ſome ſmall addition became ſtrong Garrifons for him; The Parliaments Friends had none or not ſo many Holds, ſo ſoon or ſuddenly to be fortified for their Defence: Injuriously, in that the Author and Reader alſo, if a Friend to the King, and would have the Book to be reputed his, do wound his Honor and render the maner of his death the more unchriſtian then otherwiſe it would be judged, when whileſt the life is mortal they make the vices of Diſſembling and uncharitableneſs to be ſurviving and immortal motions: The reporting it to be the Kings ſeems beſides to blemiſh the credit of thoſe Penitential Expreſſions therein, derogating from the ſerious, retired and ſolid parts wherewith He was endowed, then doubtleſs, free from the affected words whereof the Book is full, in defence of the manifold actions of his incident to this War, many of them too weakly excuſed to be His, although in an handſom way of writing (to poſſeſs the belief of men) obtruded on him by, indeed, the Author of the Book; namely and more particularly, That weak objected crime of the Author in the Kings name, blaming *the Parliaments Army for diſcovering the Kings Letters taken at Naſeby Fight, upbraiding them with an uncivil and inhumane dealing* in publiſhing

(a) Mr. May
his Hiſtory.
(b) Mr. Hollis
his ſpeech.

ing them: Whosoever shall praise the Book and thence draw applause unto the King, should for the better glory of it have expunged some improbable and extravagant passages, inserted others more necessary and satisfactory, one Tract at least of the Kings care and zeal for the security and maintenance of the true Protestant Religion; what he hath written or acted to clear those doubts, to wipe away the jealousies had of him, no where to be found in the Book, and a great incentive to this Contention: Some passages there are plausibly set down by way of censuring and speaking against Novelties and New Fashions in Religion, about the Form and Manner how God is to be served and prayed unto, against the extemporary and unpremeditated prayers of some Ministers and the like, somewhat also by way of defending the (a) Common-prayer Book, about which there is no lasting and final discord betwixt the Kings party and the Parliaments, for (for ought we know) it may with some alterations to be made, be hereafter received again, rather than the Peace or Discipline of the Church shall be disturbed about the Form and Method of the Liturgy, the Common-Prayer Book if in some parts altered, little differing from the Directory, saving in the exercise of the Ministers abilities and their choice of words and quantities, how much or little their Prayers shall be; Nothing in that Book delivered touching the substance of Religion, whether we take it in point of Maners or in Faith and Doctrine, or of his professing to defend and secure it from Superstition and Idolatry, as

(a) In the Treatise concerning the Ordinance against Common-Prayer;

part of his (a) Title implies, rather the contrary as to the matter of Suspicion, by reason of his profest indulgence to the Queen, as the Author presents Him, *Bewailing her absence and her fortunes &c.* And whatsoever his advertisements, in the Kings name, are to the Prince in a skilful Dialect expressed, to perswade him *to begin and end with God*, with other good instructions frequently given him *to be well grounded in his Religion, to keep the middle way between the Pompe of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of phantastique Anarchy*; The Council delivered is good, if the season of the delivery (a weighty circumstance) be observed as well, that the suspicion and fear of the growth of superstitious Tyranny in the peaceful times, were no greater then that of Anarchy, easie to be let in through the licentiousness and confusedness of a Civil War; And wherefore is that Council given? as if the Parliament did intend or had brought in Anarchy or devised to root out all Government; No Calumny whereby to render them and their proceedings odious and detestable, is of extent enough to serve and satiate their enemies appetite. The Parliament in their prudence and experience might discern a reason for the changing the Monarchical into some other Form, and after restore it to Monarchy again, if the state of affairs may admit or shall so require: But what that Religion is which the Author enjoyns the Prince unto, whether opposite to Popery or (b) Schism (this like weeds in Corn choaking and

(a) *Defensor Fidei.*

(b) The speedy and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms is charged on him, pag. 138.

hindring its growth, that like Mildews, blasting and destroying it) he defining not, makes it seem doubtful to the Reader. For presently after, he would have *the Prince his judgement and reason to seal to that sacred bond, which education hath written in him, in which he hath been bred*. Let a computation be had of his young years, how in his infancy incapable of discerning the differences of Religion before this War began, where and with whom he hath lived these seven or eight years since it began, all men will not believe that to be the reformed Protestant Religion which is there enjoyed Him, take it in its purity or as the corruption of times hath fashioned it, the Prince seems to go in a contrary Diameter to either, as to those instructions given him by the Author, by what is reported of his favoring and entertaining at his Court the greatest and most known Catholics, Forreigners of all parts, setting aside his Protestant and native English: So that either he takes not those Instructions to be truly and genuinely the Kings, or little observes them. That which should have been expunged out of the book to make it the more admired his, is that one passage (strange amongst the rest) about *his challenging the Parliament for discovering the Letters taken at Naseby-fight* even now mentioned; For who shall look upon a War where Parties are resolutely engaged to defend their own, to consume their Enemies forces, as His Party did by Fire and Sword, laying waste many Villages and Towns, not sparing their own Friends so they might be avenged on their Enemies, will not expect that in the heat of War any regard should be had to the concealing or divulging Letters; when the opposition was so extream, the enmity so violent, that no other

censure

censure serves to fill up his Parties malice then to judge the Parliament and their Friends *False* and *Rebels*: from which calumny and stain fastened on their credit and Posterity, They will rather fight it out to vindicate Themselves and their Friends from *Attainders Forfeitures*, and sacrifice their lives to the justice of their Cause, then undergo the guilt of those aspersions, the dispute resting still upon the question who be *Rebels*? To resist and oppose the will of a lawful King may more resemble the name of *Rebel*, and in that acception the Parliament and their Friends may by the King and His be reputed *Rebels*. Those who by practise or counsel shall infringe or subvert the Laws and Liberties of a free born People, although in a small degree of exaction or oppression, the Laws have their Metes and Limits to bound out unto every man his own, are in the judgement of a Religious and learned (a) Prince, no better then *Vipers Pests* and *Traytors* to a Kingdom, styled in these latter times *evil Councillors to the King*. The exception of divulging Letters was not so fitly upbraided in this War, when the Letters taken by the Kings Party at *Edge-hill* Battel were the onely evidence to judge and condemn one of the Parliaments party to Death, which he suffered by a Council of War sitting at *Oxford*; *The violating the ancient Law of Magna Charta so industriously and religiously preserved by our Ancestors, and above thirty several times confirmed in Parliament* (to use the very words of the Lords and Commons

Three
miles
thence

(a) King James His Speech in Parliament 1609.

assembled at *Oxford* in their Declaration printed there) is objected against the Parliament sitting at *Westminster*, to be a bold and avowed transgression of the *Laws and Liberties of the People*, as if the party of those Lords and Commons were altogether free from the like transgressions; so they may in like manner object the violating the late Kings Grant to the *Petition of Right*, when they and their party are as culpable as the Parliaments party are: The pillaging the Earl of *Stamfords* house in *Leicestershire* by the Kings party commanding there, an undoubted and notorious Felony by the letter of the Law, all his Soldiers guilty of the same, the storming by day and night, the breaking into the Marquess of *Winchesters* house in *Hantshire* by the Parliaments party, the highest degree of Burglary (many the like Hostile Actions may be instanced in on either side) but how? in the heat of War in the pursuit of Conquest, each party striving which should overcome and destroy their enemy: One other passage of that Book as unjustly and improbably delivered, *viz.* The excuse and plausible reasons given of the Kings going to the *House of Commons* attended with so many armed Gentlemen, as the Author says, was no unmounted thing for the Majesty of a King to be so attended, especially in discontented times: The times were not then so discontented as that unheard of and horrid act did afterwards make them and might have made them at that time, had but the hand of one desperate Caitiff given fire to his Pistols ready cockt (the House of Commons being near full and equal in number to the forces prepared against them) no man knows how disastrous and fatal the event had been, neither could

could the King justly fear to be assaulted or affronted by any in the House as the Author intimates, none in the House within being armed answerable to that the Kings Guard without; the Author thinks that he hath handsomly palliated that Attempt under colour of the Kings standing in need of a Guard, rendering those His Attendants there short of his ordinary Guard, but whether he means short in number or in forcible Array, he declares not. Many other passages as improbable as these are the discourses of the Book too tedious to recite, the examining and search whereof is besides my purpose: It seems to have little of it of the King, it hath elegancy of wit enough and affectation of expressions to be applauded, inconsistent with a sound and Christian wisdom whereunto his present condition was to be fitted, and charity enjoins not to think it his when full of so many uncharitable expressions, although clothed in pious ejaculations: The Author is to blame to father upon him such intermixtures of Scorn and Piety, in some parts of it Devotion and Penitency, in other Censurings & Detractions, compiled probably by several Authors, the offspring too unlike it self to be truly and univocally begot by one and the self same Parent: The words of scorn are where the Author speaking of the Kings impeaching six Members of both Houses of High-Treason, terms them in a disdainful way [*Half a dozen*] which number is all one as six, but the maner of the Phrase [*Half a dozen*] unbecoming the grave and serious Majesty of a King, especially he being in sorrow and affliction as the Author presents him, not to be applied to Gentlemen of quality, rather to things of cheap and mean account

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vendible in Tradesmens shops. The whole Book indeed (if throughly scanned) is but a fine dressed invective against the one, an Apology for the other Party, fitly penned to keep up the affections of His Friends, to win and move compassion even from His enemies: For whilst the Author presents Him innocent and injured, compassion begets affections towards the Person injured, throws disgrace and calumny on the Persons injuring. The High Treason charged on the Parliament by the Author in the Person of the King, softly and mildely instilled into the Readers ears in that Book, down rightly and roughly by the divided Members sitting at Oxford in their Declaration printed there, must be understood either *le Crime de Majestie*, or *le Crime de Fausonnerie*, The Crime against His Majesty is either against His Person, or His Honor; Against His Person, as to conspire or intend His Death, or to leavy War against Him: Against His Honor, As to deflowre the Queen His Wife, His Daughter or the Wife of His Heir; to kill those His principal Officers of State specified within the Statute of 25. Edward 3. *Comprising all Crimes adjudged Treason*: Flattery and a temporary conformity to the present and Arbitrary will of a Prince are shadows onely; the true substance and highest degree of honoring Him, is when men in Place and Authority deputed thereunto shall endeavor, as the Parliament protested and were credibly believed to have punished all Indignities Affronts and Crimes, which had or might have been committed against the Peace, His Crown and Dignity. The other sort of High Treason is *le Crime de Fausonnerie*, two ways committed, either by counterfeiting the Coyn, or the Great Seal: Now with
 which

which sort of High Treason doth the Kings Party charge the Parliaments ? either with the First, a purpose to destroy His Person &c. as above recited, or the Latter, the counterfeiting the Great Seal? Not against His Person, the observing this Discourse throughout setting forth the Manner and Original of the Contention betwixt the King and His People (the Parliament onely is as it were the Judge between both) doth manifest how improbable and untrue it doth appear, that the Parliament, when five or six years since accused of Treason by the Divided Members sitting at *Oxford*, did then or at any time before intend to leavy an offensive War, to imagine or conspire the Kings Death : It is one thing Originally to intend, out of malice prepenfed and fore-thought to devise or contrive a purpose, another thing through an inevitable necessity to act against and contrary to the intention of the Actors : If, by the way, any exquisite or choyce wits of a more sublimate reach then their fellow subjects did know or could have discovered any dark and secret contrivances of such indentment or conspiracy against His Person, deeming all others *of a narrow and lower capacity, ignorant and dull spirited*, they were to blame to conceal the plot, the manner, and means of effecting it : They had Power Confidence and Liberty enough, when the divided Members being of their Party late at *Oxford* and there accused the Parliament sitting at *Westminster* of many treasonable designs, which (the quality of the Persons accusing) being considered, they would leave no means unattempted to enhance their Power to make good their charge for the justice sake of their Proceedings : So then the Case

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is briefly thus ; The Kings Party together with the divided Members sitting at *Oxford* have in their Declarations printed there, charged the Parliament of High Treason ; which party to make good their Charge, have striven and done their utmost to enforce their own, to consume the Parliaments strength, as by inviting (a) Forreigners and Natives to come in to their assistance, yea Neutrals too under pain of forfeiting their Allegiance and breach of Oath: The Parliament have on the other side, to defend themselves and Friends from such guilt, the Neutrals also from the censure of Allegiance forfeiting, as much contended to abate and take away the Kings parties Strength: Whereas the Objection now is, *That the Parliament having of late and many years together consisted of three Estates, King, Lords and Commons, ceases now to be a Parliament ;* 'Tis answered, 'Tis no less a Parliament by His death then by his voluntary and continued absence in person and affections : besides to satisfy the Objectors arguing, *That by the want of a King there is no such Court or Government,* as that the want of Him doth totally vacate both : There be other sorts of Government known to all those that have read the Politiques ; Howbeit the Parliament hath heretofore consisted of three Estates, one of which is divided into two, Lords Spiritual and Temporal , Parliaments have been heretofore held, the (b) one excluded. If by reason of inconvenience in succeeding times, they have discovered cause for the abolishing any of the other, pre-

(a) See the Declaration pag. 26, and 27.

(b) In the time of *Edw. 1.* at *St. Edmondsbury*, *Clero excluso*. *Crompt. Jurisdic.* fol. 19. And so *Jewel* against *Harding*, 620.

serving the Power and Government unto themselves, and therefore have changed the Monarchical into some other Form, They have not done it meerly as Conquerors, to give New Laws unto the Conquered, but as a Just Power lawfully convened to defend and preserve the Old from being broken and trampled on. In their Disposing and Constituting a Government there are two things to be considered, The Fact of Constituting, the Reason and Equity of the Fact: As to the one, None will deny but it is within the compass of a Conquering Power to alter, abrogate, repeal and constitute: As to the Reason and Equity of so doing, That is to be left to the judgement and experience of those who do it. Kings in a Monarchical State may assume so much, or be flattered to believe their Power so vast so sovereign, that the people were ordained for their behoof, to do and pay obedience in whatsoever they shall Command, not the King for the (4) peoples good, *That Kings were accountable to none but God for whatsoever they do.* The case is now quite otherwise then in former times, Heretofore there have been Civil Wars, none like this, consider it either in the maner for the beginning and continuance of it, for the opposite and cross Engagements even between the nearest Friends, between Equals in all Degrees, Relations and Faculties, where

(a) *Quonquam Principes & subditi sunt ex numero & ætate, tamen natura & temporis ratione prius fuerunt instituti subditi: Principes vero (nisi qui Tyrannidem usurparint) non natura ut Pastes, sed suffragio subditorum & consensu, certis conditionibus subditorum gratia constituti sunt. Inde illud Domini apud Daniel 4. 32. Scias quod dominetur Altissimus in regno hominum & cui voluerit dabit illud. Ex quo sequitur, non Regum causâ subditos nasci, sed Reges commodis subditorum inservire debere. Bucan. Institut. Theolog. tractat. de Magistrat. Thomas. 1. part. 1. summa Theolog. quest. 9. Art. 3. & 4.*

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the Engaging at the first might be upon a misunderstanding onely, the prosecution rests upon contending about several objects, rooted now in a Contention on the one side for, on the other side against absolute Monarchy, both parties pretending to one and the self-same End, *P E A C E*; the difference is, as a long time it hath been, about the means how Peace hath been forfeited, how lost; now how to regain and secure it, when regained. The other sort of High Treason wherewith the Parliament stands charged is, *The making a new Great (a) Seal, counterfeiting the Kings*. Observe, Sir, the justness of such Charge; The Great Seal an Instrument of State, whereby *Justice is derived and distributed to the People*, as the divided Members confess, being surreptitiously and vassrously taken away from the Parliament, the Representative Body of the people, contrary to the Trust reposed in the Keeper of the same, cannot be rightly judged a Counterfeiting within the meaning of the (b) Statute. Counterfeiting is a close and covert act against the knowledge and privacy of a Superior and lawful Power damnified by such Counterfeiting; Nor is every thing which is made to the mold by which it is made, a simply Counterfeiting: The quality of the offence is discerned in the maner of the offending, and the making a Law commonly relates to some præterite crime or fraud. Now you will believe it is no where to be found upon Record whereon to ground a Law, That a King and Parliament have at any time made use of any Great Seal to cross or thwart each others

(a) See the aforesaid Declaration. pag. 21.

(b) 25 Edw. 3.

Actions: Many other accusations of this kinde are charged on them as ^(a) *disturbers of the Peace, Authors and Fomentors of this* they call *Rebellion*, & what else malice or revenge can invent and divulge to render them and their Actions infamous. But to return and shew the Royalist his next hopes of prevailing shadowed out even now, By attempting to bring in any Forreign Power how wilde or barbarous soever they be, how hard to get them out again out of this plentiful and flourishing Kingdom, yielding them all Provisions, all habiliments of War to strengthen themselves in this, as to provide for their next attempt elsewhere after they have destroyed and harrassed This, not knowing how to distinguish between *Presbyterian*, *Independent* and *Royal* party; and this to be driven on by him (in an hazardous and uncertain way) out of revenge and thirst to regain unto the royal party rather unto himself his power again long since forfeited through his mistaken loyalty, certainly through his disaffection to his native Brethren of the same Kingdom, or without considering (which wise men should) that a small Forreign Force unless ayded by a discontented faction here at home will not do the work, a great one will destroy and overrun them also, which is easie and obvious to every vulgar capacity to foresee; for what Forreigner can be thought of to invade this Kingdom, whilst the Natives thereof are true unto and at unity within themselves? If it be objected, *That the Subjects of This taking up Arms to defend themselves, will prove a leading case to the People in other States and King-*

(a) See the same Declaration, page 27.

Brashev.
lib. 4.

doms to do the like: 'Tis answered, The Government of This differs from all Forms of Government in other Nations: This being no absolute but a limited and mixt Monarchy where the King is (as a great Lawyer takes his Dimension) *Universis minor, habet Superiores, Deum, Legem per quam factus est Rex, Curiam, sc. Comites Barones, &c.* The Laws, Customs and Constitutions of this, are distinct and different from all other Nations in the Christian world: Others being Free-States, simply and absolutely Monarchies, or Powers enforcing and conforming all under them to Slavery and Vassalage, so that if a Forreigner shall attempt to invade This, it cannot be deemed he doth it from a sense of a like suffering with the King or to assist him, rather to enrich himself, to prey upon the wealth and opulency of a flourishing and fruitful Kingdom. Your last Objection, *That the Armies most conversant Preacher is* (as you have heard) *a disguised Jesuit*, other the like Falshoods put upon him of late reported, which few men besides the Reporters do believe & scarcely they: If these Objections prove untrue or easily answered, the disgrace will recoil and injure them who lays them on. Sir, if a man hath a minde to quarrel 'tis easie to finde a staff, your Eminency and Credit in your Country let in two inconveniences, A danger to be tempted by the opposite party to comply and fall in with them, when mean and weak men are let alone: The other, That it will fare with you in your Defection as spots and soils in fine cloth; the finer the cloth the easilier the soiling is discerned, in ordinary and course clothes it is not so: No question there are those in several parts of our Neighbouring

Mr. H. P.

boring Counties who may infill into your ears a like-
 lyhood of the Kings Parties prevailing, upon their
 prevailing, the Dangers whereunto you and the
 rest of his enemies are subject, also the weak-
 ness the often failings the inique or unfit pro-
 ceedings of the Parliament; In preferring for the
 present, Persons of a lower degree then ordinary, to
 Places and Offices of Trust, when as They were
 forced thereunto, in that men of an higher rank *dis-*
contented that their side cannot prevail, refuse to
 bear such Offices; In their Fining and Punishing the
 Kings Party for Delinquency, although not in so
 high and severe a way as the Kings Party would have
 punished Them, in case they had prevailed; In con-
 tinuing Taxes and Impositions upon their fellow
 subjects for the maintenance of their Power & Army,
 Their enemies not weighing the exigence and neces-
 sities which the Parliament is forced unto, but mo-
 ved by their own prejudice and spleen against the
 proceedings of that Court, and resolvedly engaged
 for the King to make such men as you to be of their
 Party, but that we know you can out-argue them,
 the strength and quickness of their and their Parties
 Arguments resulting meerly from their pretence of
 Loyalty, or from that fierceness and height of spirit
 occasioned through the greatness of their estates,
 therefore envying and troubled to be over-born by
 men of lower fortunes. And this may give the hint
 of the vain surmise, *That the Parliaments Design is*
to make the estates of all men equal, to introduce a le-
velling, when as men of great estates and spirits are
 armed with power to oppress and side with an ene-
 my against their meaner Brethren: Sir, if there be but

a defection in part or abatement of constancy (which every occurrent of discontent, heightened by your spirit, will or may soon turn into a total defection) in persons so eminent as you, in other Counties as in this, Consider what a revolution of all things must then happen, how dangerous and fatal the effects will be to render all men in all places engaged any way for the Parliament, interpretably against the King, all Towns and Counties not consonant to the Kings will when this War began, to be anew questioned, all Places and Offices by ye conferred, all Commissions and Grants by ye made, all Constitutions by ye or under your Authority Established, to be disturbed; the Persons accepting and invested in the same exposed to Reproach and Scorn by a new molding and alteration to be had upon a re-conquering, in case such chance should befall this Nation, and in mans apprehension cannot, unless your Divisions shall let in such Confusion and Misery, that those who have been your Friends shall upon Punctilio's and petty Differences become your enemies and accusers, afterwards a prey themselves to the first and common enemy. Your active and constant Industry cannot degenerate into a revolting now: This reciting your Actions here, will assail you from the suspicion, and leave a deeper Impres of your meritings then any outward commerce or compliance can raze out: You may for ought we know, deal with as reserved a subtilty to promote your first undertakings, as the Adverse part think that you do to promote theirs; Onely this you may see in the sum of all, That if the prevailing party in a Division shall divide according their varying judgements, then subdivide, after subdivide again,

gain, there will be no end of such dividings until the number of your whole Army be reduced into few or none, & shatter'd in pieces as your enemies would have it, *even as the dust before the wind*. For instance sake, The Kingdom did at first divide into a party for the *King*, another for the *Parliament* : The Parliaments party upon their conquest did divide into *Presbyterian*, *Independent* ; The *Presbyterian*, if they shall prevail, may divide into a Scottish rigid *Presbyterian*, and an English *Presbyterian* of a milder test, and to be new molded to the Conquerors fashion. If the *Independent* shall prevail, they may rend into new Sects and Divisions, and the prevailing party in such Sects may divide again : So there will be no end of dividing, till all be lost and scattered. Neither is it your or your opposite parties fault alone, but the fault of both to weaken and consume ye both : And what my fault is, the weakest of the Well-willers to your Accord, I shall as willingly listen and submit unto. I fear my plain dealing, which you'll say might have been spared and my self less blameable, nothing less,

Your faithful Friend to serve you,

May, 1649.

S. W.

F I N I S.